UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Fascism Fails

By Edmund B. Chaffee

America and the Orient—Prospects of International Cooperation - - *Taraknath Das*

Refugees in Hungary - *Frederick Hankinson*

The New Arena - - - *Lola Maverick Lloyd*

VOLUME CXIV NUMBER 11

Chicago, January 21, 1935

PRICE FIFTEEN CENTS

UNITY

Established 1878

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

Published Bi-Weekly *Subscription $3.00*
Until Further Notice *Single Copies 15 cents*

UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
"Entered as Second-Class Matter November 15, 1933, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, *Editor* CURTIS W. REESE, *Managing Editor*

Board of Directors

MRS. S. O. LEVINSON, President
MRS. E. L. LOBDELL, Vice-President
MRS. IRWIN S. ROSENFELS, Treasurer
MRS. FRANCIS NEILSON
MRS. O. T. KNIGHT
MR. IRWIN S. ROSENFELS
MR. C. W. REESE
MISS MATILDA C. SCHAFF
MRS. E. E. SMITH
MR. FRANCIS NEILSON
Secretary: MAY JOHNSON

Editorial Contributors

W. WALDEMAR W. ARGOW
DOROTHY WALTON BINDER
RAYMOND B. BRAGG
EDMUND B. CHAFFEE
PERCY M. DAWSON
ALBERT C. DIEFFENBACH
JAMES A. FAIRLEY
ZONA GALE
A. EUSTACE HAYDON
JESSE H. HOLMES
LOUIS L. MANN
JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE
H. R. MUSSEY
M. C. OTTO
ALSON H. ROBINSON
ROBERT C. SCHALLER
CLARENCE R. SKINNER
SYDNEY STRONG
JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND
ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY
JAMES H. WEST

Poetry Editors

LUCIA TRENT
RALPH CHEYNEY

Foreign Representatives

AUSTRALIA—CHARLES STRONG
AUSTRIA—STEFAN ZWEIG
BULGARIA—P. M. MATTHÉEFF
ENGLAND—HARRISON BROWN
FRED HANKINSON
REGINALD REYNOLDS
FRANCE—G. DEMARTIAL
ROMAIN ROLLAND
GERMANY—THEODOR HAHN
INDIA—RABINDRANATH TAGORE
JAPAN—NOBUICHIRO IMAOKA
PALESTINE—HANS KOHN
RUSSIA—ALINA HUEBSCH

Contents

EDITORIAL—
Notes 203
Fascism Fails—EDMUND B. CHAFFEE 206
Jottings—J. H. H. 208

ARTICLES—
America and the Orient—Prospects of International Co-operation—TARAKNATH DAS 209
Refugees in Hungary—An Aftermath of the Great War—FREDERICK HANKINSON 212
The New Arena—LOLA MAVERICK LLOYD 213

POETRY—
Arms!—*Edmund Fleg* 203
Lord of the Vineyard—CLIFFORD ALLEN 217

THE STUDY TABLE—
"All in the Name of God"—CURTIS W. REESE 215
Prophets—J. H. H. 217
The Bible Story—J. H. H. 217
"The Challenge of Humanism"—R. J. H. 217

CORRESPONDENCE—
Fascism—RALPH WESTLAKE 218
The Failure of the Church—JOHN T. RICKETT 218
Regrets—C. C. N. 219

THE FIELD—
Liquor Control After a Year of Repeal 202
What You Can Do to Stop Lynching 220

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Liquor Control After a Year of Repeal

A Statement from the Executive Committee of the Summit (New Jersey) Association for Liquor Control

The first anniversary of the repeal of the 18th Amendment occurred early in the month of December, 1934. The event was made the occasion for appraisal of the affects of the new national policy. The press gave much space, public officials in charge of liquor control issued pronouncements, publicists commented, and the American public generally has joined in the appraisal.

The period of one year, it is agreed by both proponents and opponents of the present national policy, has not been sufficient to determine the permanent affects of the transition from Prohibition to legalized liquor. That transition was very abrupt. Conduct which was a crime became on the tick of the clock entirely proper under the law, and was even lauded by officials of government and other influential leaders of society as an act of patriotism. No such violent reversal of social procedure can be effected in the short space of twelve months with clear determination of the social consequences.

There is no occasion for us to re-state facts and display statistics which have been extendedly presented in the public press. There have been sharp divergences in interpretation of these facts and figures. The affect of legalized liquor upon crime is one outstanding point of controversy. There is general agreement that illicit traffic in liquor has continued, though the extent of bootlegging is still in doubt, just as it was under Prohibition. Inevitably, an illicit traffic fostered by considerable elements in the population does not yield itself to the exact reckonings of the statistician. That bootlegging has continued on a large scale and in menacing affects upon our moral standards is not questioned by any. The new laws seeking to control beverage liquor are not enforced successfully; whether there can be is a question which only

(*Continued on page* 219)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXIV MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1935 Number 11

ARMS!

Woe unto those who make arms, for they shall be subdued by arms!

Woe unto those who give their benediction to arms, for they shall be massacred by arms!

Woe unto those who call men to arms, for they shall be exterminated by arms!

But—

Blessed are those who will refuse to bear arms, for they shall create the earth!

Blessed are those who will cast down their arms, for they shall give birth to the Messiah!

Blessed are those who will die for peace, for they shall see God!

—Edmund Fleg, in "Jesus"

If this country can get old-age pensions and a vast system of social insurance out of this depression, the whole experience may in the end prove to have been worth while. It is this thought which made President Roosevelt's message to Congress so exciting a document. It thrilled us to hear the head of the nation talking about ideals which we have been cherishing for a quarter of a century, in terms not of dreams but of actual immediate legislation. The message, as a message, was defective in its avoidance of details and its insistence upon high-sounding and misty generalities. But the President has gotten firm grasp of the idea that the wealth of this country should serve all the people, and that security for the individual is not a privilege to be conferred upon the strong or the unscrupulous but a right to be enjoyed by everybody, and his proclamation of this gospel marks something like a new era in America's history. It was pathetic, however, to hear Mr. Roosevelt lamenting "the lost years" when this program of economic security should properly have been enacted. Why did we not do this thing when times were prosperous and conditions therefore favorable? The tragedy of the present situation is that the President is undertaking this stupendous program of reconstruction at a moment when recovery and relief still lay their incredible burden upon the nation's life. The budget program, which followed the message, was fairly terrifying in its utter abandonment of all attempts at balanced finances, and its corresponding commitment of the administration to expenditures which spell ruin if private business does not speedily get upon its feet, and of this there is not the slightest sign. Can the President achieve his changes before the government resources fail and the government credit goes to smash? He thinks so; we hope so. But there remains the menace of the fact, never yet faced by the administration, that all its attempts at recovery and reconstruction are being taken *inside* an economic system of high prices and large profits which by its very nature is unworkable in terms of the common welfare.

As 1935 moves into its stride, so to speak, and as the empty, shallow, and inevitably insincere platitudes of forecast spoken in the early hours of the new year fade away, we begin to realize that this new period of destiny, just now begun, is big with fate. In Asia, the military imperialism of Japan moves like a hurricane across a vast and stricken landscape. In Europe, almost universal economic distress and political confusion, and unprecedented armed preparedness, portend war and chaos. In America, the New Deal, creaking and cracking in every joint, promises within this twelve month a crisis which we hope may lead to recovery and national reconstruction, but which may turn to collapse and disaster. It is doubtful if President Roosevelt, as indeed also the premiers of Asia and Europe, can have more than this one year to show what they can do to save the world. Heaven is patient, but there is an end to all patience, and that end is close at hand in the case of these contemporary rulers of mankind. If we were asked to say where a break in things is likely to come first, we should say in Asia. There the pressure is simple, direct, concentrated, and as powerful as the imperialistic minds of the Japanese war lords. Either China and Russia will yield, or their resistance will make inevitable a smash of world proportions. In Europe the existing confusion, both economic and political, involves a diffusion of energy, as also a distraction of attention, which tends to hold off decisive events. Great explosions can take place, as three such explosions actually did take place this past year, without resulting catastrophe. Europe can absorb the shock and go on—at least, for some time longer. Yet the final upheaval may come at any time! As for America, there are vast resources, both material and spiritual, in this country, and it is difficult to see how any real disaster can overtake such a land and such a people. But if ever there was a time, both here and abroad, for enlightened statesmanship, sustained by a public opinion

resolute for economic equality, social justice, disarmament and peace, this is it!

The New York newspapers are full of cheerful stories about the revival of night life in the metropolis. "Swanky" restaurants and dance halls are doing big business again. Men patrons are passing out $10 and $20 tips to the headwaiters. Women patrons are elegantly dressed. The tide of liquor is flowing full and strong. New Year's Eve was a good, old-fashioned carouse. All of which is supposed to be good news! But to us, we must confess, it is melancholy to the point of tears, or perhaps rather of disgust and anger. For what does this mean—assuming that the stories are true, and not mere ballyhoo to "kid" the public into thinking that prosperity has at last come around that corner? Well, it means, for one thing, that in a city carrying a million people on the relief rolls, there are thousands of men and women willing to waste their substance in riotous living. At the very hour when Mayor La Guardia is sick with worry over the question of finding the money to keep myriads of half-starved people alive, there is enough money pouring over the bars of debauchery to care for a large portion of these unfortunates. The sheer callousness of the wastrels bred by our civilization is enough to paralyze the heart. But this is not all! What we have in this spectacle is a certain forecast of what will happen if and when prosperity *does* come back. Have we learned anything from this period of the depression? Not a thing, at least morally! Get business going once again, and we would have the same old orgy of reckless spending, wild speculation, and mad pursuit of pleasure. And why not—for how can our economic system keep going, if it recovers, except on the basis of unlimited spending? Yes, we *have* learned something—and that is that our business order can be maintained only at the expense of the demoralization of the people into materialism of the worst description. Capitalism flourishes, in other words, only in terms of moral and spiritual degeneracy. It is in this sense that a mere return to prosperity would be the worst thing that could happen.

Those persons who think Fascism is remote in this country we respectfully invite to ponder some recent events. Huey Long's performances in Louisiana have been duly ridiculed by the press, but they rightly call not for laughter but for alarm, for the Senator has established in that state a dictatorship every whit as serious as any one of the numerous dictatorships of Europe. The Democratic delirium perpetrated in Rhode Island is as portentous in its way as anything that has taken place in the Kingfish's domain. Thus, in early January, the Democrats seized control of the Legislature by ousting two duly elected Republican Senators, and then, with full control in their hands, proceeded to pack the Supreme Court of the State by ousting five judges and choosing three Democratic and two Republican judges (so-called) to take their places upon the bench. Troops were not used in this seizure of power in a sovereign state, but they might as well have been. Further indications of Fascist tendencies may be seen in the outrageous criminal syndicalist trials in various parts of the country, which are nothing more nor less than attempts under guise of law to destroy trades union organizations and radical political groups; as also in the sinister lawless and violent activities of Vigilantes, in California, for example, which are openly confessed American reproductions of European blackshirts. Temper likewise has its place in this movement. When Donald Richberg rages against the editor of the *Saturday Evening Post* and issues threats deliberately calculated to stop the publication of the General Johnson articles, he is acting in the best Mussolini tradition. Secretary Ickes does the same when he cracks down on Commissioner Moses, of New York. There are abundant evidences, in other words, that Fascism has got its roots into our soil. The bonus raid of the American Legion is for all the world like another "march on Rome." We will be wise if we keep our ears open, our eyes peeled, our minds awake, and heed the signs of the times. It isn't radicalism, the Communists, that we need fear these days. It's not a red sky, but growing masses of black clouds, that threaten storm and ruin. Given any one of a number of not unlikely conditions in this country, and the Fascist dictator will be in Washington.

One piece of legislation in Washington this winter must succeed, though all else fail. We refer to the proposed federal anti-lynching bill, sponsored by Senators Cutting and Wagner. This bill should have been enacted at the last session of Congress when public sentiment was strongly behind it, but executive interest was lacking, the two legislative houses were absorbed by the New Deal and other matters, and no vote was had. In recent months horrifying events have taken place. Lynchings have suddenly multiplied in the South, and one recent lynching—that of the Negro named Neal—was an event of such incredible ferocity as to shock even this nation long since become inured, unhappily, to atrocities of this description. Public opinion is therefore, aroused anew. The current issue of the *Crisis,* for example, lists the church and other organizations which are now in favor of having the federal government intervene in this situation, and shows that in these organizations is a constituency of 41,000,000 people. The truth is, of course, that the American people have been patient for a long time with the individual states of the Union. For a half-century, now, Negroes and also white men, and not only men but women, have been hanged, burned, disemboweled, tortured, butchered, by mobs more cruel than the wildest savages. In all this time the states concerned have done nothing. So

rare is such action as that in Tennessee recently, where a mob was met with bullets, as to constitute a major news sensation. But even in Tennessee, the leaders and members of the mob are not brought to justice. What we have in this lynching business is not only a defiance of the law in the beginning, but a complete breakdown of the law in vindicating its authority in the end. The states have failed, in other words, and the patience of the people is at an end. What the states cannot or won't do, the federal government can do and must do. When John Dillinger, dubbed "Public Enemy No. 1," defeated the states he was hunted down at last by the national government. Well, as Oswald Garrison Villard points out in the *Crisis,* the lynching mob is the real "Public Enemy No. 1." Put Washington on the job and get rid of it!

Now that the Russian terror has run its course—for the time being!—we are able to estimate the full horror of the events following the assassination of Sergei Kirov. A total of 117 dead, including the assassin, now marks the bloody assize of murder for which the Kremlin stands responsible. What has occasioned this frightful slaughter—the killing in cold blood of victims granted no opportunity of defence—we do not know. But increasingly hysterical messages from Moscow would seem to indicate two things—first, that Stalin is by no means the man of steel that we have imagined him to be, and secondly, that a much more formidable opposition to the Kremlin has appeared than a short time ago would have been deemed possible. But causes do not concern us at this moment—and will not until we have information. What we would emphasize is the brutal bloodletting which has done more to shake confidence in Soviet Russia than anything that has happened since the death of Lenin. There is nothing with which to compare it except the Hitler "purge" of June 30th last, and the same denunciation which was visited upon that earlier horror must be visited upon this later one as well. We rejoice that the American Civil Liberties Union has sent a ringing protest to the Russian Ambassador in Washington voicing its sense of outrage and disgust. What is so dreadful in this event is not merely its own bloodiness and cruelty, but its ultimately fatal effect upon the Russian experiment upon which the world has staked such hopes. For this sort of thing cannot continue. It is bound to arouse enmity and vengeance which sooner or later must wipe out the source of terror. The Tsars tried this policy to the bitter end, and found, as Stalin will likewise find, that this end is bitter indeed. Says Thomas Carlyle, in his "French Revolution"—"All anarchy, all evil, injustice, is by the nature of it, dragon's teeth, suicidal, and cannot endure." And if it *could* endure, who would have it so, for a Soviet Russia that survives only by virtue of such horrors as this, is not the Soviet Russia which we have applauded, or the Soviet Russia which can serve and save the world. Such a Russia is only one more tyranny which must be destroyed if man is to live. Let there be no mistake—the friends of Russia are those who denounce this horrid thing!

The Barth case has been closed. Or perhaps has been strangely opened! In any case, the suspension of the great theologian from his professorial chair at Bonn has now been followed by his condemnation and dismissal by a "disciplinary court," acting of course under orders of the Nazi government. Three charges were brought against Barth. First, he was accused of insubordination in refusing to swear the oath of allegiance to Chancellor Hitler without amendment; secondly, he was accused of disobeying the Ministry's directions regarding the use of the Nazi salute in the classroom; and, thirdly, of attacking the government in a conversation in Berlin. This last seems to be a particularly heinous offence! According to the New York *Times,* Karl Barth had stated to a group of theologians that there could be an honest difference of opinion between equally good Christians on such matters as the concentration camps and the cause of the Reichstag fire. "Difference of opinion" in Nazi Germany? Not much! The court stoutly upheld the prosecutor's contention that such opinion was evidence of disloyalty and thus of incapacity to teach in a state institution. How could Barth, for example, be trusted to teach his pupils about such questions as the being of God or the nature of man, if he had any doubts as to who burned the Reichstag? So the greatest theologian in Germany was condemned, and will now, we are told, go to Switzerland, to take a chair in one of the universities of that free country. Thus is one more of the outstanding intellects of the Reich driven like a leper into exile! The loss of his leadership to the German churches is a serious one, but the fight against tyranny and paganism will go on, we may be sure of that. How sublime the report of Dr. Samuel Trexler, just returned from a sojourn in Germany:

> Along with an increasing affection and admiration for the great German people, their patience and willingness to suffer for an ideal, the most vivid picture that remains with me from my sojourn in Germany is the noble army of martyrs and heroes of the faith who are rising up in every part of the Reich. They are men of apostolic mold and the result of their life and prayer may bring a new Reformation. They are unafraid and face hunger and imprisonment as glorious opportunities to witness for their faith.
>
> Some of them were leaders in the great war—men of disciplined mind and quiet action. They are not taking their stand for sensational effect. They guard carefully against any political disgruntlement expressing itself through the church. They prefer to make no public statements and they await patiently the leading of God, in whose word alone they trust. One's mind goes back 400 years to the Wittenberg monk who before Charles V at Worms exclaimed: "Here I stand. I cannot do otherwise. God help me."

Fascism Fails

The rise of Fascism is a social event of great significance. Although some of our radical friends have said with great vigor that this is just what we might have expected in a dying capitalist system, the fact remains that they never predicted this turn of affairs with any clearness. As far as we know there is nothing in Karl Marx that gives any assurance that he foresaw this. Nor can we recall that any Marxian thinker told us that this would be the after effect of the great world war. On the contrary, we were told rather persistently and repeatedly that the masses would rise after all their suffering of war and overthrow their oppressors and bring in the social revolution. This has not happened except in Russia which seems in retrospect to have been something of a special case. Instead we have Fascism.

And what in essence is Fascism? In general there are two answers to this question. One of these answers is the answer of men like Scott Nearing, who look upon the Fascist movement as a desperate effort of the middle classes to save themselves from being crushed by the power of the great financiers, capitalists and landlords on one side and the rising power of the industrial workers on the other. In the thought of these men the middle classes are being ground between the upper and the nether mill stones. The great financiers are destroying the small business men and all those who depend upon them and at the same time the wage workers are organizing and demanding more and more of little property holders as well as the great. Thus Fascism has been devised to save the middle class. It is true that the great overlords of business contribute to it but they do so because they feel the need of protection at the moment from the rising power of organized labor.

There is another answer to the question as to the meaning of Fascism. John Strachey, the well-known English author of "The Coming Struggle for Power," believes that the real nature of the Fascist movement is found in the fact that it is the last desperate effort of the owners of privilege and power, the bankers, the great industrialists and the great landlords to preserve the capitalist system. In defense of this Mr. Strachey points to the fact that although Fascism may talk a kind of Socialism like the National Socialism of the Nazi movement of Germany, it never does anything to disturb the basis of capitalist enterprise. Private ownership remains and private profit remains.

It is quite likely that the difference between these two viewpoints as to the essential nature of Fascism are not as great as would seem. Judging the thing by what it does rather than by what it says it means to do it is clear that most of the promises made by the Fascist movement are not kept if those promises would interfere with private profit or private ownership of the industrial machine. On the other hand it must be remembered that there seems to be something in the Marxian philosophy which does not set well with the agricultural worker so that the man of the fields is quite readily drawn into the Fascist movement. At least such has been the case in Austria and there is little doubt that some of the success of the Nazis with the agricultural workers of Germany is found in the fear of Communism and Marxian philosophy which these peasants had because of what the Soviets had done to the peasants of Russia. It is rather clear that the Marxian radicals of Europe have with their quite proper demand for the socializing of the industrial machine, carried along with that demand a kind of excess baggage of anti-religion, anti-patriotism and anti-all culture that does not fit into the Marxian theory. This excess baggage has to no small extent made it impossible to win the middle classes or the farmers and left them the prey to Fascism. However a clear recognition of these facts must not blind us to the basic fact that Fascism as it has shown its real purposes and plans in Italy and in Germany is in its essence a *movement for the preservation by violence and at all cost of the private ownership of the industrial machine*. It is a movement of the owning class using the middle class and the peasants.

With the facts just cited in mind let us turn to the more definite question—What has been the effect of Fascism? For answer let us turn to Italy where for twelve years it has been completely in control. As Al Smith well says, "Let us look at the record."

In the first place, the monthly average of bankruptcies in 1922 the last year of non-Fascist rule was 321. In 1928 after six years of Fascism it was 970. In 1932, after ten years of Fascism, it was 2,003, that is, six times as many as in 1922. Nor can these figures be dismissed by saying that the whole world has had a depression, for in the non-Fascist country of Britain there was no such increase in bankruptcies. Indeed in 1932 Italy had five times as many bankruptcies as Britain.

In the second place, let us look at the railroads, about which American admirers of Mussolini often speak. In 1923 the number of passengers carried on Italian railroads was 100,145,000. Now, in spite of the electrification of 720 miles of railroads since 1925, the number of passengers had dropped by 1932 to 80,272,000, that is a fall of 20 per cent. Moreover, the goods carried on these railroads decreased in volume. At the very time that the government was spending money on public works to raise business morale the tonnage carried decreased from 44,540,000 in 1932 to 36,970,000 in 1933.

Again, take this highly significant fact: in 1922 the forced sales of property for non-payment of taxes

numbered 1,357, but in the year 1931 the number was 8,190. In fact, taxation has increased in Italy fifty per cent since Fascism came into power.

Another indication of the real effect of Fascism is found in the number of crimes against property. These have been increasing. In 1931 the number of such crimes, mostly petty thieving for food was 265,395 but in 1932 the figure was 304,909. Along with this we have to note that the deaths among babies on account of immaturity and defects at birth rose from 2,933 in 1926 to 4,340 in 1931, an increase of 48 per cent. The use of sugar has fallen off from 3,470,000 quintals in 1927 to 2,995,000 in 1932. Thus Italy has an annual use of sugar of about fifteen pounds per capita to about 98 pounds in Great Britain. And even common table salt has fallen off in consumption by the Italian people from 295,000 tons in 1927 to 178,000 tons in 1932.

Possibly none of these figures will interest us quite so much as those that deal with salaries and wages. These have been reduced again and again until they now stand at 35% to 50% below the rates for 1921. The wages of rice pickers for example were cut by an arbitrary decree in 1931 from 72 to 55 cents American money per day. But the index figure for the cost of living has fallen only 15.73% since 1927. In other words, wages have fallen way below the amount prices have fallen. If we compare Italy with Britain, Italian wages dropped 14 index points between 1928 and 1933 while British wages rose 15 points. And it is most striking as we look at this whole matter of wages and food costs that the Fascist nationalism in Italy resulted in a drive for the raising of wheat there which increased the annual amount produced from 201,850,000 bushels to over 293,600,000. One would naturally say that the Italian people would thus have more to eat, but not so. The masses are too poor. Their food consumption of wheat dropped from 293,600,000 bushels for the year ending July 31, 1929, to about 220,000,000 at present. This actually leaves a surplus which the government has been trying to sell abroad.

Thus in the realm of pure economics, in the very problem which Fascism says it can solve, we find complete or well-nigh complete failure. Lest the reader be wearied with statistics, we will not apply the same kind of treatment to Germany. For that country it will be enough to point out, what is a matter of common knowledge, that no real progress has been made toward the solution of the economic problem. Unemployment is actually greater than before Fascism came into power. This is disguised in official figures by the fact that tens of thousands have been put into labor corps, into concentration camps, and in other ways disposed of, but not the fondest supporter of Hitler would maintain that the unemployment problem had been solved. All that any such could possibly say would be that they were on the way. It is a matter of common knowledge, too, that Nazi policies have so aroused the world that an economic boycott has slowly strangled the foreign trade of Germany. Moreover the financial structure of that unhappy land threatens to crash. The living standards of the people are being driven lower and lower. In the language of the street, German Fascism is in the economic realm a "flop." Economically Fascism fails.

But there is more than economic failure. There is a moral failure. Fascism by its excessive nationalism sharpens the antagonisms between nations. Then it glorifies the war that it sees clearly must result from such policies. So it is that we have in Italy the spectacle of Mussolini ordering the militarizing of children of eight years of age and in Germany the sight of Hitler directing the whole life of the nation toward war. We see too how Mussolini, although an atheist at heart, will use every resource of religion to give greater glory to the nation. In Germany under Hitler we see the same phenomenon where a new religion is being evolved, the basic tenet of which is all glory to Germany. Along with all this there goes in both countries and wherever fascism is really accepted the constantly asserted dogma that "there is no race like our race." The Germans are told that they are superior to every other nation on earth and the Italians are told the same. Morally the whole Fascist philosophy is a throw back to the more primitive days when there was no such thing as internationalism. Fascism utterly rejects the basic Christian doctrine that God hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth, that all mankind are brothers.

To appreciate fully the change in moral outlook under Fascism, there are dozens of illustrations that might well be given, but we will limit ourself to one. Recall the massacres of last June when Hitler murdered his enemies! The whole world was shocked at this barbarism. It was well described as a return to the Middle Ages. But note how this was interpreted in Germany. In the *Westdeutscher Beobachter* we have this prose poem about those events. This paper is the second largest National Socialist newspaper. Under the heading of "The Magnificent Movement," that paper said of those murders:

> A parallel case is not to be found in the whole of history. Never before has a leader submerged his personal feelings so completely, never before has there been a statesman so utterly concerned for the welfare of a nation, as the Leader. Neither Alexander the Great nor any other emperor or king in ancient history, neither Bonaparte nor Frederick the Great has done anything like it. Superhuman leadership, such as we have just witnessed, will surely never be equalled. One needs to have followed the Leader for years as we have done, have felt the spirit of the movement pulsate through one's veins, in order to appreciate the immensity of his sacrifice; to understand what it meant to him to order so many of his old friends, many of them men with splendid pasts to be shot. We stand in awe of this man and his unexampled self-sacrifice. In this solemn and tense moment we swear that we also will forego all human weaknesses and errors. The blood that was shed yesterday will purify all of us: it is the sacrifice, which we dedicate to fate, necessary to keep our magnificent movement pure.

Again, if one studies statements made by the lead-

ers of the so-called German religion, we find such statements as these, "Christianity is the example of an unhealthy and unnatural decaying religion . . . . Our religion no longer recognizes the international Christian God who was unable to prevent Versailles. . . . . National-Socialist and Christian ethics are irreconcilable contrasts. . . . The slogan of the German religion is therefore away from Rome and Jerusalem." Does not this help to understand why Protestant pastors and Catholic priests are defying this vile thing?

But lest we be misunderstood, let us make clear that we are not seeking to condemn the German people or the Italian people or any other people deceived by Fascism. It is *Fascism* that we are attacking, a philosophy of life, a proffered solution of our problems which can never solve them but will involve us in suffering and cruelty equal to that inflicted upon humanity by the hideous Roman empire. Here we are at one of the greatest turning points in the world's history. Here we are with a technique for producing the goods needed to support life which can once and for all fully and completely solve our age-old economic problem. Here we are in what is well termed an age of plenty. But for good or for ill this new technique is in its very essence a co-operative technique. It is a technique, a way of doing things that demands planning, that demands the co-ordinating of the labor of men, that demands that society itself take over the basic industries and operate them as a unit in the interest of all. All this from an engineering point of view is clear. But so much do we lag behind culturally and in intelligence that we permit the selfishness of a few who benefit by the present private ownership of the industrial machine to stand in our way. So unintelligent and stupid are we that when there is presented to the people of the great nations of the world the idea of an aggressive race and national consciousness, the idea of war for glory and honor, the idea of worshipping the state, when there is presented what we call Fascism men are tricked and misled and the world trembles at the brink of the abyss. And even we here in this land are beginning to drink the same poison which has already laid low two great peoples like the Italians and the Germans.

Cannot this reactionary movement be stopped? Cannot we here in America hurl back these forces of darkness and reaction that go under the label of Fascism? We cannot answer that question any better than in the words of a little pamphlet just issued by the Christian Social Justice fund:

> Fascism is not inevitable. It is only by hopelessly giving up the fight that we make it so. Fascism is in the individual a mental complex arising from fear and ignorance, and in society a political reaction against economic progress, the last attempt of a ruling class to hold the rest of us in subjection to its interests. It is the victory within us and within the social order of the past over the future. It is the instinctive recoil of the cautious and the conservative in human nature from great adventure and great achievement.
>
> We can beat it at its very heart. We can conquer that ignorance and erase that fear by a vivid explanation of the security and satisfaction which the new social order holds for each one of us. We can overcome that political reaction by winning from it the chief groups which give it strength. We can root out from within us and from within society those relics of the past which prevent us from realizing our future. We can unite in a real battle against the old order all the elements which Fascism drives into sham battles against each other. We can appeal to the daring and the forward moving elements in human nature which have always made man the master of great adventure and great achievement.

As we go forward with this confidence, we must never forget that in fighting Fascism we will never be free of its menace as long as the industrial machine, this magnificent technique which can give us all the economic basis for the good life, remains in the hands of private owners. The Fascist menace will remain as long as the basic industries are owned by individuals and operated for their private profit. The only ultimate escape from a Fascism which has not solved and cannot solve our economic or our moral problems is to establish a new social order.

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE.

Jottings

To the dead of 1934, as named in our last issue, add LOWELL SHERMAN, actor and movie director, and PROFESSOR THILLY, of Cornell, philosopher and teacher.

Last year at this time there were 11,663,000 persons on the national relief rolls—also 4,000,000 CWA workers—making a total of 15,663,000 persons. This year there are 19,000,000 on relief, with no CWA. Yet Relief Administrator Hopkins has reported to the President that "the relief load carries probably 6,000,000 persons less than last year." If you wonder how this conclusion can be figured, you don't know the miracles of Washington ballyhoo.

Mussolini is horrified, according to newspaper dispatches, by Stalin's bloody suppression of the alleged conspiracy against him. If it takes a thief to catch a thief, why then obviously it takes a brute to appreciate and denounce a brute.

We have a consuming ambition to be a great inventor—of dinner plates that will not have to be washed, of collar buttons that will not get lost, of shoe lacings that will not break, of fountain pens that will not run dry.

The Automobile Show is now open in New York. Hundreds of thousands of people are flocking to see the latest models of the instruments of death which

will kill this year on American highways just one-half as many victims as were killed in the American army during the nearly two years of our participation in the World War.

We like Simeon Strunsky's suggestion that, in fidelity to its own principles, the government should pay bald-headed men for the hair they do not raise.

J. H. H.

America and the Orient—Prospects of International Co-operation—.*

It is very desirable that those who are politically minded in the United States should take special interest in America's foreign policies, i. e., America's relations with the rest of the world. Because adverse foreign relations always affect the nation's internal conditions seriously. Similarly, unfavorable internal conditions make a nation's foreign policy absolutely impotent.

It is needless to emphasize the importance of America in world affairs, but it will not be out of place to say a few words regarding the position of the Orient, from moral, economic and political points of view. One may assert that there is no question of world politics today which can be studied accurately and comprehensively, without taking the Orient into consideration. This is a fact because the twentieth century may be termed the century in which the people of the Orient are going to assert their legitimate rights, in spite of existing difficulties and obstacles. The United States must be vitally interested in the Orient, because her "national interests" are involved in the vast region where more than half the population of the world lives, and where the largest quantities of essential raw materials are found. Furthermore, the United States is the country which is best fitted to bring about better understanding between the awakened East and the Occident. American records in the Orient are cleaner than those of other nations. The American people have in many ways helped the people of the Orient to better their conditions, and today they are facing a greater task of bringing about reconciliation between East and West.

I

The most important problem facing the world today is that of bringing about better understanding between East and West. The people of the East are moving fast. They are trying to cover the ground of human progress with great speed. Japan is the best example of this remarkable phenomenon. What has happened in Japan and Turkey will sooner or later happen in other parts of the Orient—the transformation of the Orient in line with the latest developments of western civilization! About a century ago, the Orient began to accept some things of the West, as the West copied the East during the Middle Ages. In some countries, such as India and China, western ideals of life were indirectly forced upon the people, whereas in Japan it was a voluntary selection. *The period of dissemination of western ideas in the Orient was followed by the period of assimilation, which was followed by efforts at creation;* and it *is quite apparent that at least one of the Oriental countries has recently entered the healthy stage of competition with her western teachers.* In the field of commerce Japan is competing with the great western Powers successfully; she is demanding "equality" in matters of defensive power—naval armaments. These facts are somewhat disturbing to those who yet think that God has ordained that the people of the Occident are to dominate over the East eternally. But the awakening of the Orient is the best guarantee for future co-operation between the East and the West on the basis of equality.

The first requirement for establishing a better understanding between East and West is to have a single standard of international morality. It is the enlightened people of a country who lead a nation to its destiny; and therefore, the enlightened people of the West will have to make serious efforts to create a public opinion in international affairs which will not discriminate against the people of the East. It will not be out of place to emphasize the fact there is a double standard of international morality in practice among western men and women. A seasoned American journalist has recently given expression to it, when he wrote the following:

> The Japanese claim of self-defense is sheer nonsense, unless the world is willing to accept as basic the Foch doctrine that the best defense is offense. As a matter of fact no sort of contract has any essential place in oriental thinking. In personal business a change of conditions or circumstances abrogates a contract in so far as the Oriental is concerned. He will fulfil it, if it is to his advantage to do so, and will calmly ignore it if it is to his disadvantage. The moral necessity of observing a contract does not occur to his mind. According to his point of view it would be immoral to observe a contract if it caused him or his family to lose money or prestige. This philosophy is more apparent among the Chinese than among the Japanese, but it exists as a fundamental with the latter, despite their veneer of synthetic Westernism. When a contract means so little to the people, it certainly cannot be expected to mean much to the government. All the treaties by which the East has been supposed to govern its international actions since the war are based on the false assumption that the Oriental binds himself irrevocably to a certain course when he signs a contract. He never has, he does not now and probably never will.[1]

This amazing and sweeping statement is incorrect. Contracts are broken by the people and nations of the West as well as those of the East. Do not the great western nations sacrifice their solemn obligations on the ground of preserving "national interest"[2] by contracting "secret treaties" (double dealings) and violating agreements, such as the agreements with the United States regarding the payment of debts? Those who pretend that the sense of international morality of western peoples is superior to that of eastern peoples should carefully study the history of expansion of Europe in Asia and Africa, and such subjects as the Opium War and the present day opium traffic.[3]

In this connection I would emphasise the point that in spite of racial prejudice, religious bigotry and emotional reactions, in the actual practice of international relations the thing that determines action is invariably

*An address delivered before the Social Science Club of the University of Maryland, Baltimore, U. S. A.

1. Robert S. Pickens, "Storm Clouds Over Asia."
2. Charles A. Beard, "The Idea of National Interest." New York. 1934.
3. David Edward Owen, "British Opium Policy in China and India." Yale University Press. New Haven. 1934.
W. W. Willoughby, "Opium As An International Problem." Johns Hopkins Press. Baltimore. 1925.
Ellen La Motte, "The Ethics of Opium." Century Co. New York. 1924.

"the promotion of national interest" in some form or another. It is absolute nonsense to say that because certain peoples have the same color of skin or speak the same language, they are therefore akin to one another in spirit, in economic interest, and in political ideals. Those who are interested in making a thorough study of this question will find the book "America Conquers Britain," by Mr. Ludwell Denny, of Washington, illuminating. It unfolds the secrets of Anglo-American rivalry in world commerce and world affairs in general. May I say that, during the World War, the great Christian nations, when they decided to get into bloody carnage to uphold their supposed "national interests," sought the aid of "the unspeakable Turks," "the heathen Hindus," "the loathesome Chinese," as well as "the awful Japanese," to serve their purposes.

II

There is less conflicting interest between the United States and the nations of the Orient than between the United States and some of the great Western Powers which are jealous of American power and influence in world affairs. Some of the western powers are carrying on a "secret war" against the United States. Mr. F. C. Hanighan, in his recent work of exceptional value, has lucidly disclosed that a "secret war" between the United States and Great Britain is raging in all parts of the world over the control of oil resources of the world.[4]

International commercial policies of the United States demand that there shall be a real "open door" all over the world for American commerce. It is a pleasure to note that the Department of State and the Department of Commerce are actively engaged in promoting American commercial interests on the *basis of reciprocity.*

We often hear about the Japanese policy of closing the door of the markets of the Orient to the American goods. But the fact is just the contrary! Japan is not only the best customer of the United States in the Far East, but American exports to Manchuria (Kwantung) have increased. The only noteworthy gains in United States trade with the Far East in 1933 were "in our trade with Japan, which increased by 6.6 per cent from $134,545,000 to $143,434,000; and with Manchuria (Kwantung), which increased from $1,186,000 to $2,691,000, or by 126.9 per cent."[5] It may be of interest to note that of American exports to the Far East during the year 1932, Japan took 47.3 per cent of the total, but in 1933 she took 60.7 per cent. In 1933, American exports to Japan were $143,434,000, whereas during the same period, American exports to China were only $51,941,000, and to India $19,850,000. American commercial interests can be best promoted through economic co-operation between the United States and the nations of the Orient, especially Japan.

There are certain political problems between Japan and the United States that are receiving the attention of American and Japanese statesmen to the end of their amicable solution. Thus, Japan has a genuine grievance against the United States immigration policy. In fact, all the peoples of the Orient, which are placed in the non-quota class, have such grievance. Prof. Charles E. Martin, of the University of Washington, in his excellent paper on the subject, comes to the following conclusion:

> My suggestion is that we apply the quota principle to all the nations of the world; thus displacing the non-quota and the exclusive principles for one which would afford ample relief, would be uniform and equal in application, would be fair and just, and would pay dividends in friendship and good will.[6]

An American journalist of note expresses the following strong sentiment against the Exclusion Act of 1924:

> The United States would do well to right the inexcusable wrong she did Japan in the 1924 exclusion act. It was a stupid piece of business in 1924 and the passage of ten years has not made it appear any less so. There is no reason whatever why the United States should cling to a course which obviously does nothing except offend another nation. Any one who believes that the country would be swamped with Orientals if Japan were put on quota basis is either a believer in the "Yellow Peril" or some other kind of fool. Congress should rescind the act as soon as possible. That it has lasted as long as it has is a sorry comment on the mentality of American leadership.[7]

The American people have become distrustful of Japan, because of the creation of Manchukuo infringing upon Chinese sovereignty in Manchuria. They are also suspicious of Japanese declarations in favor of inaugurating the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine. It is sufficient to say that the report of the Lytton Commission of the League of Nations regards Japan as the aggressor; but it also points out that Japanese interests in Manchuria were not safe. It is not all Japan's fault that China has lost her control over Manchuria. It is also the opinion of many realists in international politics that China unwisely relied upon the assumption that she would receive active support from Western Powers against Japan. Had China dealt with Japan directly for the solution of the Manchurian Question, without banking upon the League of Nations, she might not have lost Manchuria.

> Even the League of Nations has not been above putting its finger in the Chinese pie. When the Manchurian crisis arose in 1931 it was a League health officer who persuaded the Nanking government to put all its eggs in one basket and appeal to the League for help. Manchuria might have been saved to China had Nanking been willing to make concessions to Japan in matters relative to the Japanese interests in the area. The prestige of the League in the Far East was staked and lost by a minor official on an issue which might have been settled quietly and much more satisfactorily had the whole affair been left to Japan and China. In its genesis it was a practical problem of Nanking and Tokyo co-operating to rid Manchuria of a dissolute and crooked administration. Had it not been for the steady and undisputed League pressure in Nanking the Chinese government might have eliminated Chang Hsuehliang and thereby removed one of Japan's principal excuses for her invasion of Manchuria.[8]

In spite of Manchukuo, the United States and Japan should come to a friendly understanding and establish a policy of co-operation. While the great nations of Europe are carrying on systematic propaganda to estrange relations between Japan and the United States, they are the first to negotiate special trade relations with Japan. The British Trade Mission only the other day arranged with the Japanese that $40,000,000 worth of railroad materials for Manchurian railways should be bought in Great Britain. France has also arranged, according to reports, to secure a large order from Japan and carry on commercial co-operation in Manchuria through a Franco-Japanese corporation engaged in the development of the resources

4. F. C. Hanighen, "The Secret War." John Day & Co. New York. 1934.

5. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Washington, Special Circular No. 312 (Division of Regional Information), Far Eastern Series No. 146, page 1.

6. "Who Shall Enter Our Gates," by Prof. Charles E. Martin, in "World Affairs Interpreter." Autumn number, 1934, published by Los Angeles University of International Relations. pp. 245-258.

7. Pickens, "Storm Clouds Over Asia." pp. 240-241.

8. Robert S. Pickens, "Storm Clouds Over Asia." New York. pp. 135-136.

of Manchukuo. Russia is loud in denouncing Japan, but she is anxious to sell the at least partly Chinese-owned Chinese Eastern Railway to Manchukuo for the purpose of promoting friendly relations between Japan and the Soviets.

These Powers, all signatories of the Kellogg Pact and some of them subscribers to the Nine Power Pact, are morally aiding Japan in her expansionist policy, because they themselves have annexed far greater territory and richer provinces of China for their own imperialist expansion. Russia has virtually annexed Outer Mongolia (1,367,953 sq. miles). Britain has taken Tibet (463,320 sq. miles), not to speak of Burma, which was a tributary state to China. France has made herself supreme in Indo-China (260,000 sq. miles), and French influence in Yunaan (146,714 sq. miles) is growing. These great nations, members of the League Council, wish that the United States would call a halt on Japan, even if this means an American-Japanese War. Some idealists think that the United States should take a stand against Japan even if it means war. I am opposed to such a policy. I feel that behind all the talk of altruism on the part of European statesmen, indirectly fomenting antagonism between the United States and Japan, there is one policy—*Split your economic competitors and get control over their* MARKETS"! An American-Japanese war will not benefit either the United States or Japan, neither will it afford real security for China. Such a war will only weaken Japan and the United States, and automatically strengthen their economic rivals. Who are the rivals that might benefit from an American-Japanese war? I am fully convinced that America, Japan and the whole world have much to gain from promoting American-Japanese understanding; and I am sure that this is the policy of sane statesmen of both countries.

However, one must not forget that the announcement that the Japanese are preparing to enforce a kind of Asiatic Monroe Doctrine has aroused serious suspicion amongst a large section of the American people. Let this be acknowledged—that the idea of establishing an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine is aimed at establishing Japan's supremacy in certain regions of Asia. The net result of the American Monroe Doctrine has been a check on European imperialism in the Central and South American countries, whereas it has aided the United States to expand its influence in the very region which is closed to other non-American powers for colonization, etc. When Great Britain signed the Kellogg Pact, she made certain reservations by which she reserved the right to adopt any measure she saw fit to maintain her supremacy in such regions as are vital to the British Empire. To be sure, the very fact that an Asian power may assert a definite and positive position which may hinder the possible expansionist policy of any western power, has created a new situation. But the idea of an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine is not altogether undesirable from the standpoint of Asian Independence. An American author writes:

> The acquiring of Manchuria has delivered Japan from the menace of inadequate war supplies, and her leaders are prepared to develop the Monroe Doctrine idea as rapidly as possible. Under the guise of Pan-Asia with Asia for the Asiatics as a slogan, she has been appealing, with some results, to China to throw off the domination of the white man and join with Japan in making the Orient a less lucrative "White man's burden." This idea is not unpleasant to certain elements in China, notably the Shanghai bankers, and to some of the political leaders who have received their training in Japan. . . .[9]

9. Ibid. p. 207.

Fortunately for the United States, she has no ambition for territorial aggrandizement on the Asiatic continent and therefore has much less reason for objecting to an Asian Monroe Doctrine than Great Britain, France, or Russia. Furthermore, if an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine is enforced, it will not affect the legitimate rights and privileges of western nations in the Far East.

III

After declaring the necessity of enforcing her Monroe Doctrine somewhat vaguely, the Japanese are asserting very positively that they will not accept any inferior position so far as their right to build a navy of any strength. The London discussions of the naval question, carried on between Great Britain, the United States, and Japan, have surprised many Americans, because the Japanese are demanding "parity." Is it really a crime for a nation to demand the right of equality in matters of national defense? There was a time when the naval strength of the United States was inferior to that of Great Britain and Germany. But after the Great War the United States demanded the right to build a navy equal to the strength of the strongest navy in the world. Great Britain had to yield to this demand. This did not mean that the United States was unfriendly to Great Britain, or was preparing a war against her. Similarly, by conceding to Japan the right to build a navy equal to that of Britain or the United States, this country will not lose anything. On the contrary, such policy will prove that the United States is no less friendly to Japan's national aspirations than she is to Great Britain's.

It may be contended that Japan's increasing naval power may be a menace to the United States. In answer to this I must say that any increase of naval strength by Japan is a greater menace to Great Britain in the Orient than it is to America in the Orient. Economically, commercially, as well as politically, there are more serious forms of conflicting interests between Britain and Japan than between Japan and the United States. It seems to me that, by opposing Japan's demand for naval parity, American statesmen are consciously or unconsciously playing the game of Great Britain. Britain is gaining the position of mediator between Japan and the United States, whereas the United States, owing to her position and less conflicting interests, should have played the role of a mediator between Japan and Britain. It is to be hoped that United States diplomacy will not act in such a fashion as to give an impression to the Japanese and the rest of the world that the United States for some reasons is decided to oppose Japan. I again repeat that America and Japan have nothing to gain from a conflict, and sane statesmanship should work for a peaceful adjustment of all differences of opinion between the two nations.

IV

The United States, with mature deliberation, has decided to grant full independence to the people of the Philippines within a few years. I am fully in favor of this policy, because it will serve the best interests of the United States and promote better understanding between East and West. I am an advocate of friendship between the United States and China, and also between the United States and the Western Powers which have vital interests in the Orient. In this connection one must remember that Great Britain has the

most vital interest in the Far East. This interest is rooted in India, and it has branched out to other parts of the Orient and to Australia. Therefore, from my point of view, in studying the problems of the Orient, one should not ignore India as Britain's exclusive possession, but regard it as a vital factor in world politics and economics.

Today the problems of the Orient form a very vital factor in world politics. They are influencing American world policies, and affecting relations with all nations, especially the great Powers of the West. The first duty of American statesmen is to promote the welfare of the American people. This can be best served by promoting the ideals of peace and better understanding between East and West. Every intelligent American citizen has a self-imposed obligation to further this national mission of serving humanity.

Washington, D. C. TARAKNATH DAS.

Refugees in Hungary—An Aftermath of the Great War

(From Our Special Correspondent)

Sixteen years ago the Great War ended, and it seemed to many people in many lands that the nations which had been at strife were ready to dedicate themselves with renewed vigor and consecration to the noble and righteous task of promoting World Peace and international understanding. We heard much of the Rights of Minorities; of the War to end War; of the lands that were to be fit dwelling places for heroes; of the settlement of the ethnic problems; of the new force for peace in the League of Nations; and of the new religious spirit that was moving the masses and tending to increase church attendance. We know these great ideals have not been fulfilled, but there has been a genuine desire amongst the people of the world for disarmament, for peace and for the rights of the minorities. In spite of the Chino-Japanese war and the South American war in this very year, it was felt that Europe would steer clear of actual warfare. It was therefore a great shock to Europe to know that there were rumors of war in the very recent Jugoslav and Hungarian dispute arising out of the Marseilles murder.

Fortunately, there has been a settlement arrived at by the League of Nations at Geneva, but unfortunately, there has been a tragic and alarming side to this official inquiry. Some 3,300 or more souls (of Hungarian nationality) had been expelled from Jugoslavia and escorted to the Hungarian Frontier, placed there homeless, penniless and without any of their material belongings, apparently for no unusual or illegal cause or reason, and for no crime or offense. On December 5th the Jugoslav officials went to these Hungarian subjects who were living and working in Jugoslavia, and without due warning, or even a day's notice, hurried them out of the land. The train journey was not long as most of these refugees lived near the Hungarian frontier; the longest train journey being about six hours—but these unfortunate folks had no time to collect any of their belongings, except in a very few cases, which brought some bedding and clothes. Many were awakened in the night and made to get out of bed, dress themselves and go to the railway station under guard. Many had lived in Jugoslavia from the (pre-War) time when the part they dwelt in was Hungarian territory. Many had applied (for a long period) for their Jugoslav nationality papers, but these had not been granted to them owing to official delay. Some few of the men had served as conscripts in the Jugoslav army and it is hoped that such men with their families may be able in due course to return if they desire. Many of these people had lived and worked long years in Jugoslavia and regarded themselves as nominally Jugoslav citizens, but not having received their Jugoslav nationality papers they were legally Hungarian subjects. They had lived most of their lives in many cases in the same town or village and had there their homes and occupations. On December 6th and on later days, these refugees began to arrive at the several Hungarian frontier stations and the greatest credit and praise must be given to the Hungarian local authorities who fed and sheltered at a moment's notice the inrush of refugees, young and old, healthy and sick, cripples and babes in arms.

During the past few days many of these folks have come into Refugee settlements in the city of Budapest and the financial response and the humane sympathy of the whole nation has been aroused so that food, clothes, bedding, etc., have poured into the various relief centers. At present private charity is attending to the needs of these 3,300 souls, but the problem of looking after them will become later a strain on the Government and local authorities, as it is not likely that many of them will return to their old homes and the question of compensation is often a long delayed one where Governments are concerned. I visited one Refugee center in a large school in the center of the city. Here under the admirable administration of the Hungarian Red Cross workers were 451 souls. Each class room was furnished with beds. In several rooms were a number of married couples and their children, in others were men only and in others women only. There were in all 175 men, 150 women; children six to 16 years, 80; 3 to 6 years, 24; 1 to 3 years, 15; under 1 year, 7. During the coming week 100 more refugees from frontier district centers are awaited. All are being fed three times a day at a neighboring school where a large kitchen is set up.

A small number of cases were ill, women suffering from shock or cold and men suffering from cold. The very young children seemed well and had every possible care under the circumstances. One old man over seventy years old, said his wife was still in Jugoslavia, as being away from home when he was taken to the Frontier she was not driven out. Luckily the Red Cross workers are able to send letters to Jugoslavia so news may be forthcoming of relatives and of material belongings.

Among the 451 souls I saw, the majority were agricultural laborers, a lesser number were clerks, farmers or peasant proprietors. Many of these brought with them wives and children. This large school is but one of the refugee centers (up to date) in Budapest. There is another large building accommodating a greater number. At the frontier towns many refugees for the time being remain but their fate is uncertain and pitiful.

While we are deeply stirred by all this unnecessary suffering of innocent people we realize the political issues involved, the question of nationality and the position of the Stateless are matters for the League of Nations, for the governments and diplomats, still it is

urgent and essential to arouse public opinion as to the real state of many human beings today. The humanitarian side of this tragic situation must appeal to one and all. It seems incredible that sixteen years after the Peace Treaty such a situation can arise, and some thousands of innocent, honest and industrious people can be treated like pawns on a chessboard and moved at the whim of official minds to an unknown destination.

My mind went back to the year 1920 and the few following years when train loads of innocent Refugees poured into the railway stations of Budapest from the lost Hungarian territories; or again in 1925 when I saw hundreds of innocent Bulgarians who had been turned out of Greece and dumped like material goods at the frontier station, or the Bulgarians who had fled from their villages when the Greeks made a frontier raid in the same year, but we had hoped that such things were of the past. Yet the shadow of these tragic events has fallen once again on Hungary, and there will be much need for practical sympathy and material help during the approaching winter as already there is much poverty and unemployment. These innocent fellow creatures have a claim upon us all. It behooves us to urge upon our leaders and rulers the need for Disarmament and the healing of those sores and injustices which create international ill-will and misunderstanding, thus delaying the coming of the reign of Universal Peace. It behooves us too, to help in creating public opinion which will never suffer again this uprooting from their homes and occupations of thousands of innocent human beings.

FREDERICK HANKINSON.*

Budapest.

*[Mr. Hankinson has been working in Hungary since the War, and is in need of funds which may be sent to him at Hotel Hungaria, Budapest.—Ed.]

The New Arena

In their long struggle for legal rights, the year nineteen hundred and thirty-four has brought women something new. While nationally, country by country, defeats and victories are partly balanced—American women won complete equality in nationality rights, for instance, while European women suffered losses—internationally a far vista has cleared before us. The Assembly of the League of Nations has placed on its program for September, 1935 the broad subject of the "Status of Women." And this refers to half of the whole human race and has nothing to do with white slaves or refugees or opium eaters.

Our success is a proof that the prevailing low status of women begins to interest the statesmen of the newest commonwealths and those of vision in the old. They recognize it for the menace which it is to all their dreams of progress.

The surprising step in Geneva did not, of course, just happen. New statesmen do not predominate in the League of Nations. If logic or idealism had ruled, their forum would long ago have heard an echo of the woman question. Hard work by many women for many years prepared the way for our successful coup.

My experience was with the Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality created by the Council of the League of Nations and two of its component organizations, the Inter-American Commission of Women and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. After the Consultative Committee held its annual meeting in July in a room of the League of Nations and made its usual report opposing the unequal Hague Convention concerning nationality rights and welcomed the two equality treaties of Montevideo, some of the members of the Consultative undertook to visit important European congresses of women and get their endorsement of our work. In Paris at the Congress Against War and Fascism early in August we had some difficulty in persuading the working women delegates to demand right in this bourgeois world their equal status with men, but they finally approved unanimously of the Equal Rights Treaty. Also in Zurich early in September it got the full endorsement of an International emergency congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

The treaty referred to was begun at Montevideo in December, 1933 and states:

> The contracting States agree that upon the ratification of this Treaty, men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the Territory subject to their jurisdiction.

Meanwhile in Geneva the July report to the Secretary of the League of Nations from the Consultative Committee on Nationality brought no official action. By the middle of August it had not been printed for circulation to the governments, and when the agenda for the approaching Assembly appeared, our subject of nationality rights was omitted.

Still we were not hopeless. The Consultative Committee had succeeded in getting a woman appointed in the Chinese Delegation, Madame Liu, whose assistance we counted on in the Assembly. We expected the women among the Scandinavian Delegations to be sympathetic. We hoped for help from Turkey with its new point of view. The South American Delegates to the League, responsive to the influential Inter-American Commission of Women, have always been helpful, but this year they were less willing than usual to take action, discouraged, evidently, by the Great Powers who rule the League and firmly oppose women's equality.

When delegation after delegation refused to initiate action, it became an emergency matter to put the subject of women's equality rights in some way or other before the 1934 Assembly. Although the usual avenues were closed to us, we did break through before the end of the Assembly—too late, alas, for any action this year—at least that was the decision of the Bureau.

In the Geneva campaign for equality our intrepid and resourceful leader, Alice Paul, worked day and night. Her unique knowledge of international law has been freely given for years to the cause of women, as well as her dwindling private income. She represented the Inter-American Commission of Women, assisted by Rowena Green until Madame Baralt could join us. Lillian von Matsch heading the Propaganda Committee of the Consul-

tative Committee on Nationality threw all of her energy, social influence, and diplomatic experience into the work. Dr. Rosa Welt-Straus of the All-Asian Conference of Women, chairman this year of the Women's Consultative Committee, left Palestine in time to attend our July meeting, and we had her help all through September. It is to her that the Jewish women of Palestine owe the right of suffrage. For the International Council of Women we had the active help, as always, of their permanent representative in Geneva, Miss L. C. von Eeghen, and this year the added assistance of that good Geneva feminist, Dr. Renée Girod.

More than any other organization, perhaps, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom contributed to our success. We used their headquarters for our meetings, the Maison Internationale, where we had the sympathetic help of their international secretary, Emily Greene Balch; and, in addition to their two accredited representatives on the Consultative Committee—I was one and Madeleine Doty the other—we were assisted in September by a lot of their delegates from Zürich, returning home via Geneva, among them: Matilde Widdegren of Sweden, Thora Daugaard of Denmark, Sophie Kovaleska of Poland and Mabel Vernon, Annette Roberts, Evelyn Newman and Katherine Devereux Blake of the United States. Good helpers, too, in the equality campaign came from Great Britain and her Dominions, for instance: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Lady Simson, Lotta Whyte, Florence MacFarlane, Mrs. Glanville, Miss Deusberry, Miss Maitland, Mrs. Alice Green and Mrs. Ginarajadasa. There was work for every woman.

A request was drawn up for an immediate discussion of equal nationality rights, but for a long time no official delegate quite dared to sign it. Finally we got the help of the newly-admitted Russians. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence led a group of feminists to see Madam Litvinoff, an unaffected lovely woman, British by birth, with a heart interest in our cause. Then we saw Maxim Litvinoff himself and got his signature at the top of our document. This act of his preceded the introduction in the Assembly of his own motion concerning Disarmament, and was, we think, his very first official action as Russia's representative in the League of Nations.

Seeing his name, other delegations fell into line. While one nation's demand suffices to put a subject on the agenda, an odd rule holds down to fifteen the maximum number of signatories to such a petition. Fifteen therefore we aimed to get. Half an hour before the time limit Alice Paul was still not satisfied to send in our petition with its dozen signatures. So we scurried in and out of the League Commissions then in session (we did if we had press cards, I mean) sending hurried notes to friendly delegates and watching in agony while they took their time to respond until, at three minutes before the deadline our petition had fifteen signatures, and Lillian von Matsch hurried with it from the Salle de la Presse to the door of the great Bureau. One delegate followed into the Bureau to sign it, but, as his nation would have made the sixteenth on the list, he was advised to refrain, and just in time. When you work for unpopular causes, follow the letter of the law!

All requirements being fulfiled, the Bureau of the League was obliged by its own rules to place the subject of equal nationality rights on the Assembly agenda. Did they do it? They placed it on the agenda, yes, but not for 1934! The Assembly voted to discuss it in 1935, and that was something! Just before the Bureau's recommendation to this effect was unanimously adopted by the Assembly on the 26th of September, Miss Henni Forchhamer made a speech pledging the cooperation of women's organizations in the 1935 campaign for equal nationality. She is the alternate delegate from Denmark who has so often helped the cause of women and the cause of peace.

Were the feminists in Geneva satisfied with this action of the Assembly? No, decidedly not. With a taste of success we always grow bolder. If it must be a whole year before even our tiny fragment of rights concerning nationality can be discussed, let us enlarge at once the scope of that discussion, and, when next year comes, let us talk about all kinds of equality. Strike while the iron is hot, was our idea. Our Cuban friend, Mrs. Blanche Z. Baralt, came up from Paris and helped the Inter-American Commission of Women and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom work for a second and broader petition. This document was signed by ten South American Delegations, who evidently do not share the European aversion to equality *per se*. They signed the following petition, which was immediately submitted to the Bureau:

To the President of the Assembly,
Your Excellency:

In consideration of the fact that the League of Nations is an international organization designed to defend human rights, the following delegations deem it urgent that the League take cognizance of the present widespread and alarming encroachments upon the rights and liberties of women, and, recognizing that the League has no more loyal supporters in its work for international peace than the women of the world, believe that the League should show its appreciation of the services of women by giving immediate attention to every circumstance imperiling their welfare.

Since the Bureau has found it impossible to give consideration at the present time to the subject of the nationality of women and has, we understand, put this subject on the agenda of the next session of the Assembly, we, the undersigned, request that there be included on the agenda not only the subject of women's nationality but also the entire status of women, giving particular attention to the Treaty signed by four Governments at Montevideo (December, 1933) to remove all legal distinctions based on sex.

We also request the Assembly, or the proper authorities, as an emergency matter, to bring the whole critical situation affecting the position of women before the Council of the League at the earliest possible moment.

On the "Status of Women" petition the official verdict was to send it to the Secretary General of the League of Nations "for the action required." This vote puts the subject on the Assembly agenda for 1935.

With less than a year to prepare, how will women make use of the world machinery now for the first time at their disposal? Except by our own lack of courageous initiative, the possibilities are unlimited. Believing that women are really persons, we cannot be content with our present status—still unequal here in this "land of the free." And we are certainly not indifferent to the actual

loss of status suffered by women in one country after the other. Some form of international protest in sympathy with these women is long overdue.

Surely we can help ourselves best—and our sisters everywhere—by working along the new international lines of the two Montevideo Treaties. The Treaty for Equal Nationality Rights should be circulated promptly by the League of Nations for ratification by all nations, following the good example of the United States and Chile. The other Montevideo Treaty would grant us full equality with men in all legal rights, and nothing less can satisfy good feminists. This treaty is the very goal of our ambition.

Unless the inferiority complex which women suffer is incurable, we shall rise above it and prepare all our groups to take their full share in the promising international campaign inaugurated by our quick action in Geneva.

A discussion next September before the Assembly of the League of Nations on the "Status of Women"—What a challenge!

LOLA MAVERICK LLOYD.

Washington, D. C.

The Study Table

"All in the Name of God"

The author of the book, "All in the Name of God,"* has had a wide experience as Director of the National Conference of Jews and Christians, and as a member of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

The introduction is written by Newton D. Baker. Mr. Baker's statement that "all through our American life we find vestigial remains of the Old World Religious Wars and of its racial antipathies, which have long since lost any normal or useful functions," might be called the motif of the book. For Dr. Clinchy insists, and in my opinion too much so, that the American outbreaks of religious antipathies and racial antagonisms, particularly during the colonial days, have been a carry over from Old World situations.

The first four chapters deal with our dismal heritage, and tell vividly of the efforts of our Puritan ancestors to impose on dissenters restrictions and cruelties of a kind similar to those from which they had fled when coming to the New World.

There is the story of the burning of a convent in Charleston, Massachusetts, by an anti-catholic mob, exactly 100 years ago. This mob resulted from a series of sermons directed against Catholics, preached by the Reverend Lyman Beecher, father of Henry Ward Beecher. The convent was raided and burned to the ground "while the city officials stood passively by." "This happened within sight of Bunker Hill while a shaft was then under construction commemorating the dawn of liberty in America."

This incident was no isolated accident, for many such occurred in the years that followed. As late as 1850, a man named Orr, "known also as the Angel Gabriel, because he blew a trumpet to summon his audiences, a man who had been successively a Methodist preacher, a circus performer, a temperance lecturer and an editor of a Know-Nothing paper in Philadelphia, repeatedly instigated anti-Catholic riots." In Chelsea, Massachusetts, he led a frenzied mob "to a Catholic church, where they tore down the cross from the gable and shattered it to pieces." In 1854, citizens of Dorchester, Massachusetts, "celebrated the fourth of July by blowing up a Catholic chapel at three o'clock in the morning."

But this is getting a bit ahead of the story. The author believes that such outbreaks are the result of our "social heritage from the dim days when our respective ancestors, in Biblical times, in medieval Germany, in 16th century France, and in the British Isles, fought their ancient battles with one another." This carry over of the social heritage to the New World resulted in the conviction of a Harvard College President of heresy, and his forced resignation, due to his being a Baptist. "Within a few decades, in the Puritan colonies alone, early Americans had whipped forty Quakers and killed four." The situation was not much better in New York where "Peter Stuyvesant beat the bare back of a Quaker, and wrote to Holland a vigorous plea against sending any more Jews across the sea 'to infest New Netherlands.'" South Carolina "denied liberty of conscience to any 'papists.'" "In Virginia, a child was decreed to be illegitimate if born of parents married by a non-Anglican clergyman."

In fact, "the early American colonies were made up of highly self-conscious, closed groups." The rights of outsiders were recognized unwillingly, if at all. "In New England the heresy laws cancelled the civil rights of anyone who denied the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, of the resurrection of the body, of sin, of atonement through the death of Christ, of the morality of the fourth commandment or of the baptism of infants." As early as 1647, "an act was passed, as severe as any in England, for the punishment of Catholic priests who might be found in the colony."

That these outbreaks of intolerance were completely in harmony with the attitude of the governing officials is evidenced by the fact that after Anne Hutchinson had been banished from the colony and massacred by Indians, Governor Winthrop saw in her massacre God's hand, making of Anne Hutchinson an example to evildoers.

"In 1644, a man named Painter was whipped for refusing to have his baby baptised." Following this, "a law was enacted prescribing banishment for any person who opposed the baptism of his infants." "Later laws imposed fines on the spectator or worshipper at any Quaker meeting, and threatened the believing Quaker with loss of ears, mutilation of tongue, and death, if caught after banishment."

In 1656, Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, two Quaker women, appeared in Boston. Since Quakers were not "of the people," "these two were immediately imprisoned." "Their books were burned. They were examined for witch marks. For five weeks, they were confined in a dark cell, denied even a candle, and all communication with the outside world was forbidden."

During this period, mainly in Massachusetts, forty Quakers were banished, sixty-four imprisoned, over forty whipped, one was branded, three had their ears cut off, and four were put to death. "The idea that men might differ in their religious ideas, without being enemies, had not yet dawned among these people."

*"All in the Name of God," by Everett R. Clinchy. John Day. 194 pages. $2.00.

But New England's leadership in intolerance was hotly contested by New York, where as late as 1700 it was "decided to hang every Roman Catholic priest who should enter the colony." William Penn, however, was more broadly democratic than the leaders of other colonies, and Pennsylvania as a result was more tolerant than the other colonies.

"To Maryland goes the distinction of maintaining a civil society from 1634-49 without an instance of persecution or prosecution of any individual because of religious belief or lack of it." This was while Maryland was controlled by Catholics. While Lord Baltimore held control of the state of Maryland, this freedom continued, but after 1654, when the Puritans came into power in Maryland, an "Act Concerning Religion was passed declaring that Catholics might not be protected in the practice of their religion." Maryland thereafter became an unhappy place for Jews, Quakers, and others, as well as Catholics. During the early days there were persons like Lord Baltimore, Roger Williams, and a considerable number of leading Virginians, many Quakers and Baptists, and others who were fighting vigorously for religious freedom; consequently, "by the time of the Revolution . . . a change in the relations to one another of the groups . . . was beginning to take place. Citizenship was being determined less upon theological grounds than in the early days."

"The religious movement known as the 'Great Awakening' . . . produced new alignments within Protestantism." "The complete domination of the older religious sects by the ministers had broken down." The idea of a theocratic society was giving way to a more liberal idea. The Methodists introduced humanitarianism, and in general there was a marked trend toward religious liberty.

The Revolutionary War itself increased "this process by developing at least a temporary unity of purpose among Catholics, Protestants, and Jews." That is to say, while fighting against somebody else they had no time to fight amongst themselves.

In the Revolutionary days, the real work in behalf of liberty was done by Thomas Jefferson, who was only thirty-three years old when he wrote the Declaration of Independence; and James Madison, who was but twenty-five when, in 1776, he joined Jefferson in "the struggle for human rights in Virginia." It should also be said—although the author does not—that these men and others of their kind were greatly influenced by the teachings of Thomas Paine, and that back of this were the Encyclopedic movement in France, and the Renaissance.

"Jefferson's Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom was the first Billl of Rights of Conscience in all history." Jefferson not only believed in liberty of conscience, but he also held "that variety was inevitable, and that it was valuable, and should be prized." He wrote, "Is uniformity attainable? Millions of men, women, and children, since the introduction of Christianity, have been burned, tortured, fined, and imprisoned, yet we have not advanced one inch toward uniformity." The significance of the Virginia legislation is seen when we recall that when "the Federal Constitution was adopted, ten of the thirteen colonies were imposing some sort of religious test on candidates for office." "To the makers of the Federal Constitution, religious liberty was a very live question." Some of the states were greatly concerned lest the omission of religious tests be "construed by Jews and heathen as an invitation to come to the United States."

But in the Federal Constitution of 1787, the clause forbidding any religious test for Federal office was approved. Then came the demand for additional safeguards. A number of states asked for amendments granting freedom of worship, so the first amendment was ratified in 1791. The amendment read: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." But to have done a complete job, the amendment should have said, "neither Congress nor the States."

When Thomas Jefferson, in his inaugural address, used the words, "Having banished religious intolerance," he was not recording an accomplished fact but merely expressing an ideal. Even to this day the state constitution of New Hampshire "excludes from public school teaching positions all candidates save 'Protestant teachers, of piety, religion, and morality.' "

The "adoption of the Federal Constitution, in spite of its revolutionary guarantees of religious liberty, did not mark the end of religious controversy in America." As late as 1853, religious bigotry merged with the "nativist" movement. "The New York Protestant Association, The Native American Democratic Association, The American Protestant Union, The American Republican Party, The Order of the Sons of America, The Order of United Americans, the United Daughters of America, and similar organizations united to form the American Party." The earliest example of an American United Front!

The Know-Nothings, the Ku Klux Klan, the A. P. A., the Silver Shirts, etc., have written a shameful record in American history.

There is a separate chapter dealing with anti-semitism in America. The Jewish question was not vigorously raised during the early days of bitter anti-Catholic agitation. "The reason for this was that the Jew constituted neither a potential menace nor an economic or social threat." But with the Jewish influx at the beginning of the present century, anti-semitic literature and agitation began to appear. Not until the second decade of the twentieth century do we find much serious discrimination against Jews. "The economic difficulties which later were exploited by anti-semitic demagogues were conspicuously absent." The so-called Protocols of the Elders of Zion, now known definitely to have been fraudulently formulated in Europe, did not begin to influence American thought until Henry Ford's campaign in 1920. Fortunately the united action of Protestants, Catholics, and Jewish groups resulted in so exposing this particular type of anti-semitism that Henry Ford himself offered a public apology to the Jewish people. In 1921, a protest against anti-semitism was broadcast throughout the country by Woodrow Wilson, William Howard Taft, Cardinal O'Connell, and other "distinguished political and intellectual leaders."

The Hitler movement in Germany has served to agitate the anti-Jewish feeling in America, and the present situation in America is by no means encouraging.

The author believes that the time will never come when Catholics, Protestants, and Jews will have no problems to settle between them. The cultural currents are hard to stem. But in many ways these groups are learning how to integrate their differences and work together for the common good.

The book is worthy of careful reading, and should be of special use in these days of Hitlerish tendencies.

Another volume equally astounding could be written showing how, in the name of God, the human will has been surrendered to alleged supernatural powers; how, in the name of God, hope has been deferred; how, in the name of God, the unfortunate many have been exploited by the fortunate few. But this is another story.

CURTIS W. REESE.

Prophets

This unique booklet,* beautifully bound in gold and black, is a striking contribution to what has long been a cherished dream of its editor—namely, the formation of an American Bible. Dr. Strong is preparing a selection of scriptures which will run "from the Mayflower Pact to the Peace Pact," and this is a foretaste of the feast. The Hebrew Bible, he points out, has five parts—Annals, Laws, Songs, Words of Wisdom, and Prophecies. The booklet now in hand presents "the Prophets." The other four parts of our American Bible, thus patterned after the Hebrew Bible, "will be published in the near future."

The little volume opens with Edwin D. Mead's immortal "Epistle to the Americans." This is followed by forty-six selections from such classic sources as Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Parker, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Abraham Lincoln, Edward Everett Hale, Robert G. Ingersoll, Walter Rauschenbusch, and Henry George, and from such contemporary spokesmen as Edwin Markham, James Weldon Johnson, and William P. Merrill. Readers of this paper will be interested to know that Robert Whitaker and the Editor of UNITY are honored with inclusion. We are glad that Dr. Strong listed "Over All the Lands," by his daughter, Anna Louise. Also, we are tempted to wonder if the fine passage on page 46, ascribed to an "Unknown Prophet," is not by the modest editor himself.

We commend this booklet to the UNITY family. It is good reading for these days "that try men's souls."

J. H. H.

The Bible Story

There are few ministers and teachers who have not been often asked to name a good book which will introduce children to the Bible, and fewer still who have not been hard put to it to give an answer. Of course, there exist such books—Hendrik Van Loon's, for example! But this, and no other that we know, are satisfactory.

At last, however, the volume wanted is at hand in this work** by Dr. Bowie, Rector of Grace-Church, New York. A noble text, matched by beautiful printing, binding, and illustrations, make this an ideal book. The author is scholarly in the best modern sense of the word, and therefore, knows the Bible as it should be known today. He loves its contents, but eschews all sentimentality, and emancipates himself from all bondage to the sacred text. He conceives and sets down his own narrative, as though he were writing history or even romance. The result is an original, exciting, and absorbing story.

It should be added that this book is not intended merely for children. Dr. Bowie prepared it for "both the young and the mature," and the latter as well as the former, will find reward in its pages. We commend it confidently to all members of the family.

J. H. H.

"The Challenge of Humanism"*

Authors may write from the periphery of their minds and utter themselves in big sonorous rhetorical phrases that hurry the reader along at break-neck speed, or they may write from the vital centre of their minds where they actually live and utter themselves in pithy, packed, pungent sentences that cause the reader to ponder over them and savor their quality again and again. The writer of this little book belongs to the latter class. His book is a veritable *multum in parvo.* Every page is packed with thought and luminous with a clear, steady light as of anthracite coal at its most incandescent stage.

The first sentences of the book give the keynote of the discussion: "Humanism is not an 'ism' at all. . . . It is a temper, a mood, an accent." There are five chapters. The first gives a most sympathetic account of the various forms that humanism has assumed through the ages. The second "The Root of the Matter," seeks the source of religion in man's effort to explain and defeat evil. "The compassion for living things in the shadow of evil is the inner compulsion of all the really great religions." The third chapter, "The God-like capability," shows that the defence of reason is the defence of man and defines reason, not as a mere tool for destruction but as an instrument of self realization. The fourth, "On Being Humane," deals with humanitarianism, not as a sentimental indulgence but as *the humane way of looking at life.* These two principles—rationalism and humanitarianism—he regards as the bases of humanism, of a new belief in man and of the religion needed by our time. The last chapter deals with faith as something suprarational rather than supranatural and shows how the mind, relying on reason and humanitarianism as its main guides in concrete living, may in the mystical experience achieve a conviction that "the good is ultimately and transcendently worth while." I cannot conceive of any liberal reader not profiting from this book or being unwilling to subscribe to the name "humanist" as here interpreted.

R. J. H.

*"The Soul of America in Her Prophets," edited by Sydney Strong, Seattle, Washington. (Copies 25 cents each; apply to F. W. Shorter, Church of the People.)

**"The Story of the Bible," by Walter Russell Bowie. Published by the Abington Press. $3.00.

*"The Challenge of Humanism," by W. B. Tavener. The Lindsey Press, 5 Essex Street, Strand, London, W. C. 2.

Lord of the Vineyard

Was Christ announced in governmental offices,
Or did He choose to let the songs
That told His birth be sung to shepherds first—
The plainsmen sad with many wrongs?

Oppression, hungering and pain: these three invoke
His law—his right-redeeming hand:
The nation's heart is beating fast, and pumps
Unrest throughout a yearning land.

O, careful! politicians, grafters, public servants
Who will do anything but serve,
For God can be another kind of Savior,
Bearing gifts which you deserve!

CLIFFORD ALLEN.

Correspondence

Fascism

Editor of UNITY:

Consider now my countrymen—before it is too late—the "pestilence that walketh in darkness and the destruction that wasteth at noonday;" the shirted and booted terror now rising out of the ashes of monopoly capitalism; the raging monster which develops when psychological conservatism faces economic defeat and expropriation; the mental confusion which rides out of the empty tents of its fathers in pursuit of melodramatized scapegoats; the combination of desperation and madness and blind loyalty to the traditions of a pioneer era which murmurs in one breath against "radicalism," "reds" and "agitators," and in the next against "big business," "monopolies" and "international bankers"—Fascism, the curse of the Twentieth Century!

Fierce and cunning, false and vile, "Fascism has," according to Mussolini, "already stepped over, and if it be necessary it will turn tranquilly and again step over, the more or less putrescent corpse of the Goddess of Liberty."

A dreadful spectre holding in its bloody paws the whips for labor's back and the chains for the subjugation of womanhood, a moral blight and blasphemy, a perverted spiritual negation sneering with lewd and strident voice at those human rights and values for which our fathers perished on despotism's scaffolds, for which our patriots left bloody tracks in the snows of Morristown, for which they died like rats of disease and want and cold in the mud huts of Valley Forge—this is Fascism; this is capitalism in the throes of dissolution!

Fascism or Nazism, a heartless, shameless and sadistic sabotage against economic evolution and social progress, appears at the last phase of the profit or capitalist system—of bourgeois society, which instituted on the ruins of feudalism. It appears after finance-monopoly capitalism has destroyed the economic bases of industrial life.

As in a slowly dying man unexpected powers of resistance surge forth in a last, violent struggle against annihilation—as a dying star flames forth brightly just before it becomes a cold clinker in the heavens—so in the dying society there develops an obstinacy of spirit, an atavistic longing for the old ways and flesh pots of a falling Sodom, and an amazing adaptability to the atmosphere of decay.

All the unexhausted forces of the old order, the embattled rapacity of the vested interest, the nationalistic passions, the racial and religious prejudices, the psychological backwardness of the majority of the workers, the vicious and explosive discontent of the middle class—these resist the social metamorphosis which confronts them; and when the real crisis comes, when inflation threatens, when sales taxes have failed, when labor becomes militant and revolution demands justice, then the plutocrats will subsidize these reactionary forces in one last desperate effort to buttress a collapsing order, while behind the scenes in passionate violence they will forge the Fascist sword!

H. G. Wells says that the history of the next twenty years will be a race between education and catastrophe, between industrial democracy and Fascist tyranny; and if the victory is to the uninformed mobster and the night-riding vigilante, "the ruins of that liberty which thousands bled for will just furnish materials for a village tale or extort a sigh from rustic sensibility, while the fashionable of that day, enveloped in dissipation, shall deride the principle and deny the fact."

The quoted words are from the author of the first apology for a democratic republic, whose "Common Sense" heralded the cold gray dawn of American Independence, and whose "Rights of Man" Madison declared to be the rock upon which our republic was founded. And we must choose my countrymen—choose between Thomas Paine and Mussolini, between industrial democracy and Hitlerism, between progress and ruin, between the Goddess of Liberty and the degraded wretch of Fascism whose feet take hold of Hell, whose house is "the way to the grave, going down to the chamber of death."

RALPH WESTLAKE.

South Charleston, Ohio

The Failure of the Church

Editor of UNITY:

There is a great deal of discussion as to why the church has lost its prestige. Why the church went down to defeat in the "World War."

There are nearly as many opinions as there are people expressing them. They write from different viewpoints, consequently so many conflicting ideas. Men are not agreed as to the meaning of Christianity. Because "The God of evangelical Protestantism is in reality the individual's own idea. . . . Our Protestantism has left no other course but to construct our own God."—(*The Christian Century.*)

Nearly all assume that the fault is not with our religion, but with man. "He does not practice his religion." "The spirit of the age has no use for religion." When the very opposite is true. For the civilization of any age is the expression of their religion.

Man is naturally religious. The spirit of man has always aspired upwards. The question of the ages is, "What is God like?" "Is he interested in humanity?" "Is he a loving God?" or "Is he an angry God?" "Does he punish us when we sin?" These are the questions man has been and still is asking.

Christ was the answer. Jesus was God and God was Jesus. It was God that man nailed to the tree. It was God forgiving all mankind for nailing him there, when Christ prayed, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do." A God that will suffer the work of his hands to scourge him, mock him, spit on him, nail him to the cross and then freely forgive them before they even thought of or had asked for forgiveness must be a God of infinite love. Love not just one of his attributes, but his very self. "God is love." Then if God is love, man must be good at heart, for he was created in God's image.

In order to see clearly what the church teaches we must distinguish between what it actually teaches and what it professes, for it is our actual belief that is the ultimate base of our conduct. The two pillars that the whole theology of the church rests upon is the belief in an angry God, and the natural depravity of the human heart. "God has

reserved the right of vengeance unto himself." "Man is naturally governed from below."

Studdert Kennedy said, "The whole history of Christian theology is largely made up of strenuous efforts to reconcile the armed with the unarmed God."

No wonder the church went down in defeat. It could not stand the storm. The foundation it rested on was false. The direct opposite of what Christ taught.

There is no suprise that our "Peace Conferences" end in failure, when we are taught that man is naturally evil.

The structure we have built has collapsed and man must start anew and build a better world on a solid foundation. We must hold fast to the belief in a Loving Father, and that man is good at heart.

JOHN T. RICKETT.

Regrets

Editor of UNITY:

I am very sorry that it will not be possible for me to renew my subscription to UNITY this year. UNITY has been a very welcome visitor to my study, and I am always tremendously stimulated by its courageous point of view. I like especially the vigorous analysis of current trends by your editor, John Haynes Holmes. Nevertheless I shall have to forego the privilege of reading the magazine during 1935. I am very sorry.

C. C. N.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 202)

longer tests will answer to the satisfaction of all. Advocates of legalized beverage alcohol are often among those most strongly urging revision of these laws.

Disappointment with the public revenues accruing from the legalizing of liquor is universal among repealists. These revenues have fallen short of conservative governmental budget estimates by scores, even hundreds of millions of dollars, and are farther still below unofficial estimates which were ardently offered as arguments for the adoption of repeal. Whether measures can be taken to increase these revenues remains also to be determined. If high taxes are imposed, bootlegging is encouraged. If taxes are reduced to the point where the bootlegger is driven out of business, will the tax revenues be of sufficient volume to justify present budget estimates? And if liquor is made so cheap as to be universally accessible, will the social effects be tolerated even by the majority who supported repeal?

Three outstanding facts about which there can be little controversy and which become the importunate concern of all good citizens, we believe should now be pointedly called to attention.

First. The year's experience with legalized liquor has not served to ease the general concern over the free use of beverage alcohol in a motorized age. Speed, safety and liquor drinking do not go together. The startling increase in casualties on the highways is both popularly and officially attributed to the freer use of liquor. The drinker who has reached the stage of inebriety is, of course, entirely incapacitated for driving a car. It has already become apparent also that the moderate drinker is a menace to himself and the traveling public on the highways. The formula is now being adopted by governmental officials as well as by publicists in the press, "If you drink, don't drive; if you drive, don't drink." Long ago the railroads adopted strict rules that locomotive engineers should not be permitted to indulge in alcoholic beverages even when off duty. The same rule is now being adopted by the more responsible trucking and bus corporations in regulation of their drivers. How far public opinion will support highway commissions in withdrawing automobile driver licenses from all persons who use alcoholic liquors remains a question yet to be answered, but the impossibility of harmonizing habits even of moderate drinking and safe driving of motor cars on the highways, is becoming increasingly apparent.

Second. The intimate relation between alcoholism and physical and mental disorders has become more clearly recognized. This relationship holds for both the individual's irregularities and for social disorders afflicting the community at large. The oft-repeated assertion that if it had not been for the depression, and the psychology caused by the depression, the 18th Amendment would not have been repealed, may or may not be justified. It is as certain, however, as medical and psychiatric science can establish the fact, that alcoholism is a symptom of physical and mental disease, and that the correction of the evil effects of alcoholism awaits the adequate treatment of these fundamental disorders.

There are phases of this revelation which are new both to the advocates of free, legalized liquor, and to those who have advocated the complete prohibition of the liquor traffic. For the latter the question now arises whether traffic in liquor can ever be suppressed among a population distressed by nerve-wracking social disorders, and whether attempts to withhold liquor from those harrassed by certain mental and physical disorders can ever be entirely successful. The old discovery that men and women seek to drown their woes in drink now takes on a new and highly scientific significance. It seems clear that alcoholism has in a new reality been demonstrated to be bound up with prevailing personal and social maladies, which will as never before tax statesmanship, sociology, psychiatry, and medical science, for effective treatment. It has long been recognized that confirmed inebriety calls for hospitalization and drastic curative measures. The cause of liquor control will be greatly advanced when it is generally recognized that impulses even to moderate drinking are symptoms of incipient physical and mental disease, induced by social maladjustments and other causes which have no immediate relation to the artificially cultivated appetite for alcohol. Both the individual thus afflicted, and the social and scientific agencies dealing with problems growing out of alcoholism, will thus be guided to a more constructive and effectual treatment of the alcoholic mania.

Third. The first year's experience under repeal has confirmed the too nearly forgotten fact that commercial greed dominates the liquor traffic. In many quarters there was some confidence that a conscienceless business had, through the rebukes and vicissitudes of the prohibition era, been chastened into a degree of self-respect, and that it might now properly be accorded a corresponding degree of respectability. Most of those who cherished this hope have already been dis-

illusioned, and the fears of those who could not entertain the hope have been confirmed. The over-reaching of liquor interests in forcing their wares upon the unwilling has already developed an incipient popular revolt, which the more reputable distillers and brewers show some evidence of recognizing. Full-page advertisements of some of these corporations have actually warned the public against over-indulgence, a unique phenomenon in these days of high-pressure salesmanship. But such restraint is as unusual as it is surprising, and the conscienceless methods of exploiting the liquor traffic, so familiar to those with memories extending back 25 and more years into pre-prohibition days, have already demonstrated the apparently ineradicable animus of the liquor interests. How far the alliance of these interests and unscrupulous politics may be carried the one-year period of test does not reveal, but signs do not fail of a renewal of this partnership.

Attempts to repress this greed by law have proved unavailing, whether under the drastic legislation of the prohibition era or under the greater leniency of the legislation of today. The liquor traffic has never respected the law, and the past year's experience has revealed little intention on the part of liquor dealers to change either their methods or their aims. The clamorous devices by which a greedy commercialism has sought to seduce an already impoverished people cannot help but inspire a popular disgust which will lead to the same social penalties for those who profit by the traffic today and tomorrow, as those which the bootlegger of prohibition days encountered, and which were universally meted out in pre-prohibition days to distillers, brewers, saloon proprietors, bar-tenders, and the whole fraternity then exploiting the liquor business. A people suffering from such economic distress as are our American communities today cannot long escape the affirmations of simple arithmetic which demonstrate that a dollar expended for liquor is a dollar withdrawn from the purchase of food and clothing and housing and the numerous other articles of necessity and comfort. The liquor traffic is no respecter of persons, and conscienceless profits are already being reaped from the exploitation of the impoverished.

We confidently expect that the same public sentiment which brought into disrepute all participation in the liquor traffic will more and more inexorably assert itself, and we call upon all good citizens to join in crystalizing this sentiment, and in making its import unmistakable.

What YOU Can Do to Stop Lynching

The Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill will be introduced into Congress on January 3, 1935. A group of national organizations, all vitally interested in the eradication of lynching, have decided that now is the time when citizens of the United States should voice their feeling on this bill in the following ways:

1. Write or telegraph President Franklin D. Roosevelt, The White House, Washington, D. C., asking him to insist that the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill be brought to a vote at this session of Congress and to use his influence to secure its passage.

2. Write or telegraph the Honorable Joseph T. Robinson, majority leader of the Senate, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., asking him to put the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill on the calendar for debate and vote at the earliest possible time.

3. Write or telegraph the two United States Senators from your state, addressing them at the Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., asking them to help bring the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill to a vote and to vote for its passage.

4. Write or telegraph the Congressman from your district, addressing him at the House Office Building, Washington, D. C., asking him to work for the passage of the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill and to use his influence with other Congressmen.

Ask others to do the same.

The Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill, by putting the prosecution of lynchers into the Federal court, will provide the same kind of effective action as is now being taken in kidnapping cases.

It's up to YOU.

Write your letters now.

Issued by the Department of Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches, 105 E. 22nd Street, New York, N. Y.

La Follette's

Great National Weekly Newspaper

"The Progressive"

Regular Price $1.50 Per Year

STARTLING FACTS suppressed by other papers are being exposed NOW! Inside story of the new 3rd party. Send 20 cents today for the next 13 sensational issues.

Special Offer
3 Months
- 13 - ISSUES 20c

The Progressive, Dept. M, Madison, Wis.

Unity-Forward March

A SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

For a period of six months, from January 1 to July 1, 1935, UNITY will accept renewals, extensions, and new subscriptions at $2.00 for one year.

UNITY is an excellent gift for friends, students, libraries, etc.

Special feature stories of MEN YOU OUGHT TO KNOW will begin in an early issue.

To Unity Publishing Company, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Gentlemen: Enclosed you will find check for $2.00 for which please enter / renew / extend my subscription to UNITY for one year.

Name .....

Address .....